DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 191 935 UD 020 813

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TITLE The Black Student in Higher Education: A Study of the Issues.
INSTITUTION Fayetteville State Univ., N.C.
PUB DATE Mar 77
NOTE 37p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Access to Education; *Black Education; *Black Students; Educational Opportunities; *Educational Responsibility; Equal Education; *Higher Education; *Organizational Change; Social Action

ABSTRACT

This booklet discusses the issues surrounding the increasing presence of black students in institutions of higher education and the responses of those institutions to the issues. The concerns discussed include issues of access, admission, academic success, supportive services, black faculty and staff, special programs, and financial aid. Few solutions or answers to the problems have emerged, yet educators are seeking models for institutional responsiveness. The presence of black students in higher education has provided the impetus for general institutional reform and redefinition of purpose. Although much remains to be accomplished, some notable progress has been made in the struggle for equal opportunity. (Author/MK)

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The Black Student in Higher Education: A Study of the Issues

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MARCH 1977

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UD020813

Introduction

Black college students and their varied relationships with institutions of higher education have received increasing attention during the past few years. The participation of black students in higher education has grown from fewer than twenty-eight students during the Pre-civil War years to over 470,000 students in 1970.[1] The general pattern of black student enrollment growth indicates that full-time black student enrollment has approximately doubled every decade. With black colleges unable to absorb the increasing numbers of black students, most of this growth has been in historically non-black institutions. Even though black students are increasing in entrance statistics, the numbers that actually exit are appalling. As Alan Pifer concludes:

> When one looks at the rate, in 1970, of participation of blacks at each level of the four year undergraduate course, a disturbing pattern emerges. In the freshman year, blacks represented 8.3 percent of the total enrollment; in the sophomore year, 6.8 percent; in the junior year, 5.4 percent; and in the senior year, less than 5 percent. This, of course, is partially attributable to an expanding annual entry of blacks into higher education and in part reflects the number of blacks now going to two-year community junior colleges. However, it also reflects a high attrition rate.[2]

The attrition rates in the past for black students have been explained away in terms of inadequate high school preparation, socio-economic concerns, and the inability to succeed in a competitive situation. However, researchers have often overlooked the option of examining the institutions of higher education themselves to explain, in part, the attrition rates of these students. It is becoming imperative that educators explore the various dimensions of this question: is there something about the formal and/or informal structures of predominantly white institutions that militates against the academic, social and emotional growth of black students?

The relationships of higher education and black college students will continue to remain somewhat erratic until some of the fundamental conflicts surrounding the black presence in higher education can be resolved. Higher education in the past has shown a remarkable capacity to adapt to changing student populations.[3] This same adaptability must be shown if a workable relationship with black students is to emerge. With the legislation accompanying the Morrill Act, institutions of higher education changed to meet the needs of agricultural and industrial student interests. Higher education in response to the GI Bill absorbed a host of returning veterans many of whom were poorly

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[1] Alan Pifer. *The Higher Education of Blacks in The United States.* New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1973, p. 29.

[2] Ibid., pg. 29-30.

[3] John Egerton. *"The White Sea of Higher Education."* in Altman, Robert and Patricia Snyder ed. *The Minority Student on Campus. Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1970. p. 39.*

prepared for academic life. Foreign students by the thousands have been brought to this country and have been served by American colleges and universities. Provisional admittance procedures were established long before the entrance of black students. Author Gibbs capsulized the situation when she stated: "if the university intends to remain in the vanguard of leadership in the contemporary world, it must be willing to adapt itself to the changing demography of the student population and to harness the energy and creativity of its minority students for the mutual growth and vitality of both constituencies."[4]

Colleges and universities shall continue to see various student groups and student populations agitating for institutional reform. On many campuses today women's groups are demanding to have their special needs and interests met. Institutions of higher education are recognizing the legitimacy of these demands and are seeking ways to adapt the basic structures of higher education to accommodate these new interests. In a similar fashion, institutions of higher education must become increasingly more sensitive to the issues surrounding increasing black student enrollments and must continue to seek ways to make higher education academically, socially, emotionally, and psychologically meaningful and relevant to black students' needs and interests. At the same time black students must also move toward a new consciousness of higher education, for as William Boyd articulated:

> to move forward to new and better objective conditions for blacks on predominantly white campuses a new consciousness is necessary among white policy makers and opinion leaders. The elements of that consciousness are less stereotyping of the qualifications, desires and needs of blacks - and more listening, understanding, and responsiveness. Blacks in predominantly white colleges as well as whites need to develop their consciousness. Sophistication and hope must grow into a mature and realistic assessment of the benefits and cost of educational opportunities. If this maturation matches the maturation process of the colleges, a stable and satisfying relationship can be established.[5]

Boyd has articulated a most crucial step in the process of establishing a synergistic relationship between white institutions and black students. It is most essential that blacks and whites 'develop their consciousness' and realistically assess the benefits and costs of educational opportunities. Blacks and whites should do 'less stereotyping...and more listening, understanding' and responding.

It must be clearly understood that institutional reform is a slow process. Every institution has room to grow and adapt but the extent to which institutions do reform will depend in large part on the depth and breadth of the leadership

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[4] Jewel T. Gibbs. *"Black Student/White University: Different Expectations." Personnel and Guidance Journal.* March, 1973. p.469.

[5] William Boyd. *"Are White Colleges Cooling Black Recruitment." Change Magazine. Winter 1973-74. p. 78*

potential of their academic administrators and student populations.

It is reasonable to believe that a satisfying relationship between black college students and higher education can be established. It is further believed that this relationship must be established if the vast reservoir of talent represented by black students is to be tapped. Higher education is regarded as the equalizer, the upward ladder of social mobility. It is only fair that black students be given the opportunity to gain their equitable share of the top-level positions in the administrative, business, political and professional life of this country. Yet, in 1970 black students represented only 4.1 percent of the total enrollment in graduate and professional schools. At the same time, of the Ph.D.'s awarded, black students received fewer than 1 percent. Therefore, it is imperative that institutions of higher education be examined to determine their ability to more adequately serve black students.

The directions higher education will take in the future will depend on the leadership provided by those who man the helm. That cadre of leaders must be assessed to determine where they stand on the issues surrounding the black presence in higher education, and what strategies they see as effective means of broadening opportunities and extending educational services to those previously denied. The university does represent the formal means of perpetuating the knowledge and history of a people and black people have a right to participate in the acquisition of that knowledge and the formation of that history.

The Issues

The myriad of concerns articulated as a result of the black factor in higher education came into clear focus in the early sixties. During the sixties, as a result of civil rights demonstrations, student activism, race riots, and civil rights legislation, institutions of higher education began to examine their institutional missions as it related to social responsibility. Some of the leading educational spokesmen let their views be known. Lewis B. Mayhew cautioned the university:

> .....although institutions of higher education have responded to some of the emerging needs and demands of students, they have not done so consistently and have actually failed to respond to needs involving the central educational mission of higher education. Quite clearly, rectification of this situation, if it is to take place, must be the responsibility of the institutions themselves.[1]

Mayhew pointed out that higher education, like all other forms of education, is a social institution designed to provide services to the society that created it. Mayhew[2] also felt that as social needs change, so must the emphases and responsibilities of our social institutions change; and unless the institution involved does shift to accommodate new orientations, it loses its viability and effectiveness.

Colleges and universities can be very effective vehicles for achieving and improving racial harmony and understanding in our society and they can help to foster an atmosphere where all men can live, work and respect each other. As Roscoe Brown has pointed out:

> blacks and whites should be moved to do something about the racism in our society. What better place for them to learn what to do and how to do it than in the university?[3]

The "American experience with higher education"[4] has taken place on three distinct fronts - in colleges and universities established specifically for black people; in colleges and universities which historically enrolled only whites; and in community or junior colleges established with the precept that equality of opportunity must be guaranteed to all. Alan Pifer explains why integration of the races can resolve the present conflicts:

> .....throughout the history of the United States, but especially since the emancipation of slaves in 1863, there has been constant tension within our society over the issue of whether segregation or integration of the races should be the basis of our national development, and this tension explains most of what has happened in regard to the

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[1] Lewis B. Mayhew. *Colleges Today and Tomorrow.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969. p. 105-106.
[2] Ibid., p. 108.
[3] Roscoe Brown. *"Black Studies in Perspective." New York University Education Quarterly.* Vol. 2, No. 2; Winter, 1971.
[4] Alan Pifer. *The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States.* New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1973. p. 3.

higher education of blacks. Until recently this issue was largely settled, dejure in the South and defacto elsewhere, by the enforced segregation of the black minority by the white majority. Beginning in the 1930's, however, and accelerating as time went on, the legal basis of segregation was progressively destroyed by the courts and by legislation and great progress has been made since then toward realization of the full and equal rights of citizenship for blacks. It is true the goal of a fully integrated society remains elusive and is probably far off. On the one hand, white racism remains persistent and pervasive; on the other, the powerful economic, social and psychological legacies of centuries of oppression continue to place blacks in a disadvantageous competitive position. Nonetheless, having tried segregation and found conclusively that it did not work, we are now committed to the course of integration, thus far with results that are considerably more promising.[5]

It is generally agreed that integration indeed holds more promise for the attainment of equanimity in all aspects of American life. As Pifer clearly points out Americans did try segregation and it did not, does not and will not work in the American way.

That the numbers of black students in predominantly white institutions has increased cannot be argued. Whether or not institutions of higher education are ready to meet the educational requirements of black college students is open for discussion. Peter Janssen speaks to the situation:

> The initial phase of the entry of blacks into the mainstream of American higher education is over. Most colleges and universities have opened their doors--if not their hearts--to black students and faculty members. The recruitment drives, started hastily in the closing days of the Civil Rights movement, now are well entrenched at most white institutions. The black studies programs--created rapidly, guiltily, after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., now fill a standard, if insecure niche in the curriculum.
>
> Phase 2 of the relationship of Black America and American education is just beginning. But it is beginning with the profound and deeply troubling realization that the revolution of rising aspirations and consciousness made blacks ready for higher education before most of higher education was ready for blacks.[6]

Several statistics point to the premise that higher education is not ready for the black presence. Black Americans are still not participating in higher education at rates comparable to white participation. Blacks represent 11

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[5] Ibid., p. 4.

[6] Equal Opportunity Resource Group. *The Special Needs of Minorities in Higher Education and Methods of Meeting Needs.* An unpublished report submitted to the Connecticut Commission on Higher Education, February 1973. p. 33.

percent of the general population, and they constitute a slightly higher percentage of the college age cohort. Yet the current figures show that fewer than 7 percent of the total college and university enrollments is represented by black students. As the figures show, the proportion of black students in higher education gets remarkably lower as the students move from freshman to senior year. Although black student enrollments are increasing in traditionally non-black institutions, progress is minimal and there is much still to be done.

Another concern is the stereotypes white college officials hold of the typical black student. The typical black student is seen in most colleges as inadequately prepared, in need of remedial services, and representative of a ghetto background. It has been reported by one college official, that some institutions instruct their recruitment teams to find "authentic ghetto types."[7] Most of the programs and federally funded projects are written for this particular student population and college officials actually seek this kind of student. As a result, able black students are brought to the university through these programs and are left to suffer the stigma often attached to such efforts. It is true that there are many students, both black and white, who because of inferior secondary schooling, compounded by home environments that do not encourage intellectual curiosity, are handicapped in the academic situation. However, there are also many students both black and white, who in spite of these conditions do creditable work and are highly motivated individuals. It is ironic that American colleges and universities have found ways and means to educate thousands of foreign students who, because of cultural differences were unable to compete with regular Amercian students. As a result, many of these students were given a special test (TOEFL) and were granted provisional admittances. This is a very good indication of the flexibility exhibited by institutions of higher education in coping with non-traditional populations in non-traditional ways.

Dr. John Snyder,[8] Acting Chancellor for the Bloomington Campus of Indiana University argues that it is not enough just to bring black students to the white campus. Educators must, he says, become concerned about' the university's ability to develop and finance the academic supports to help insure their success. It takes far more than special admissions--it takes a personal touch, special handling, and a committed faculty." The question Dr. Snyder raises is critical. Can the university develop and finance the academic supports necessary to insure the success of black students? More over--can the university identify what supports are necessary to meet the educational requirements of black students? Another question is--can the university identify the educational needs and interests of black students?

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[7] Thomas Sowell. *Black Education: Myths & Tragedies.* New York: David McKay Company, 1972.
[8] John Egerton. *State Universities and Black Americans.* Georgia: Southern Education Foundation, 1969. pg. 90.

Several investigators have attempted to identify the problems experienced by black students on the predominantly white campus. Ronald Taylor,[9] a sociology professor, points out that there is an essential need to explore further the nature of the experiences that the black student has on the predominantly white campus. The importance of such endeavors, he feels, lies in the assumption that "the quality of their (black students) experiences and the nature of the problems they encounter have serious implications for the degree of social adjustment and academic success. Moreover, how black students perceive the university or its representatives would appear to be crucial in determining their attitudes and actions in a variety of circumstances." After interviewing a selected number of black students on a predominantly white campus of one major East Coast University, Taylor makes the following generalizations:

> -Many black students are experiencing some difficulty in making the adjustment to an essentially white institution; and the extent of their difficulties are manifested in the quality of their interpersonal relations with white students and faculty, in the degree of participation in campus activities and social organizations, and in the level of frustration and anxiety.
>
> -A sizable proportion of black students view the college community as hostile, alien or untrustworthy, attitudes which tend to exacerbate the process of social adjustment.
>
> -Most black students are plagued by financial and identity problems, the first because of limited personal, family or institutional resources, the second because of the virtual lack of black role models in the persons of faculty and administrators on the white college campus.
>
> -Black students are seriously concerned about the education they are receiving and the environment in which it is being offered; many are seeking ways of reshaping the environment or, failing that, they are attempting to neutralize its effects through black student organizations or other means.[10]

Taylor goes further to suggest that if the predominantly white campus is to effectively deal with the issues raised by the black presence, then it must pay particular attention to the problems, needs, aspirations and experiences of these students.

Joann Powell[11] in an article entitled "Higher Education for the Black Student," identifies several factors which militate against the educational growth of black students. These are (1) the education of black students is of a lesser quality than that received by whites, (2) very few black students have the

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[9] Ronald Taylor. *Some Notes on Black Students and the White University.* A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, New Orleans; August, 1972.

[10] Ibid., p.10-11.

[11] Powell, Joann, *"Higher Education for the Black Student" Journal of College Student Personnel.* Vol. 11, No. 1 pp. 51-62, January, 1970.

verbal and mathematical skills necessary for academic success and (3) black students lack sufficient funds to be self-supporting throughout the college experience. Powell believes that the lack of black instructors and administrators deprives the black student of appropriate reference points and role models. Pruitt warns that "faculty, staff and students need to be aware of the fact that desegregation, especially where the black poor are concerned, can be stressful, and that fully as much attention must be directed toward creating a supportive psychological atmosphere as toward removal of scholastic deficiency."

Fred Crossland,[12] in his book *Minority Access to College*, summarizes several factors which prohibit minority access to college in six major categories which he refers to as "barriers to higher education." According to Crossland the black student faces the following barriers to higher education:

1. Test barriers: tests which are not designed to measure the ability and competencies of black students
2. Barriers of poor high school preparation
3. Money barriers
4. Distance barriers: most colleges and universities are geographically too far away for black students to have equal access
5. Motivation barriers: because of socio-economic conditions black students do not see college as a realistic goal
6. Racial barriers: institutions of higher education, for whatever reasons, discriminate against minority groups

Crossland predicts that black enrollments will continue to increase in non-black institutions, and changes in administration, pedagogy, curriculum, and institutional purpose will be inevitable. There will be a need for much more analysis and evaluation of higher education's functions, including those that relate most closely to minorities. As we move to universal higher education, public demands for accountability will have to be addressed. Commenting on *Minority Access to College*, James Cheek, President of Howard University had this to say:

> *Minority Access to College* is a controversial statement. It should be because it deals with a controversial issue. It adds substantially to the level of national discourse on issues surrounding the education of black and minority youth. And the report makes it very clear that this nation--all sectors of our society at all levels--must substantially advance social justice for our minorities by supporting the black institutions. For these youth and these institutions are among the nation's outstanding neglected resources.[13]

Pruitt[14] conducted a study which explored the personal growth needs of black students. Pruitt concluded that the college environment should be

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[12] Fred Crossland. *Minority Access to College*. New York: Schocken Books, 1971. p. 53-74.
[13] Ibid., p. xiii.
[14] Anne Pruitt. "*Black Poor at White Colleges-Personal Growth Goals.*" *Journal of College Student Personnel*. January, 1970.

supportive enough so that black students can (1) establish a meaningful self-identity (2) establish a realistic sex role and (3) develop greater confidence in their ability to determine their own future. Pruitt found that one of the critical problems facing the newly integrated black student results from the process of acculturation, defined as the process of learning middle class culture by lower class people.

Durley[15] supports Pruitt's findings when he posits that "black students entering the predominantly white university not only encounter educational disadvantages but must also be able to contend with the obvious culture gap between black and white America." Durley feels that the black student needs some assistance in making the transition from black community to university life. Haettenschwiller[16] supports this idea when he says that most black students lack "anticipatory socialization." That is, most black students are the first in their families to go to college and because they lack daily interactions with peers, parents and teachers, they have not internalized the role they are expected to play in the college setting.

Burbach[17] studied three ethnic groups to determine which was the most alienated in the university community. He administered the Dean Alienation Scale to 725 subjects consisting of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and White students. Burbach found that black college students were the most alienated, in that black college students felt more powerless and purposeless than the other two groups. Burbach explains that the "difference on powerlessness can be attributed to heightened feelings among blacks that they lack control over the day-to-day events in their lives and that they are being used and manipulated for purposes other than their own." Burbach suggests that the university seek ways to reduce feelings of powerlessness and social isolation within the walls of the institution.

Gibbs[18] identified several of the problems experienced by Black students who attend a predominantly white university. Gibbs worked as a counselor at the University of Santa Clara and her observations were developed as a result of her direct contact with black students. Gibbs found that three-fourths of the black students she counseled had problems establishing a meaningful personal identity. The students displayed role confusion, anxiety and acted defensively about perceived white racism by espousing separatism. Gibbs writes, "not withstanding their search for cohesiveness through conformity, many of these students privately feared rejection by both white and middle class black students."[19] The second major concern of these students was academic

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[15] Gerald Durley. *"A Center for Black Students on University Campuses." Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 40, No. 6; June, 1969.

[16] Dunstan Haettenschwiller. *"Counseling Black College Students in Special Programs." Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. 50, No. 1;*

[17] Harold Burbach. *"Alienation Among College Freshmen: A Comparison of Puerto Rican, Black and White Students." The Journal of College Student Personnel*, July, 1971.

[18] Jewelle Gibbs. *"Black Student/White University: Different Expectations." Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 7; March, 1973.

[19] Ibid., p. 465.

performance. Several factors militated against their ability to perform well; lack of a family education tradition, poor public school preparation, inadequate remedial and tutorial services, and poor study skills. A third area of concern was interpersonal relations. Over half of the students complained that there were frequent conflicts between blacks and whites as well as among the black students themselves. According to Gibbs:

> one of the most highly charged topics in individual and group sessions concerned interracial dating. Particularly explosive was the assertion by black coeds that black men preferred to date white coeds while black women were not sought after by white men, thus causing black women to feel that they were socially deprived. Moreover, black middle class females complained that black males tended to exploit them sexually and did not recognize their need for more traditional courtship behavior.[20]

Other problems cited by Gibbs include problems in decision making, problems in establishing long-range career plans, problems in expressing sexual and aggressive feelings. Gibbs observed that those students who had to deal with many problems simultaneously were not functioning at an optimal level emotionally, academically or socially.

William Trent posits that the demands for adjustment and self-control on the part of black students on the predominantly white campus leads to psychological problems:

> To begin with, in situations where blacks are brought into a predominantly white environment, the environmental differences, negative responses and reactions, and disguised or subtle hostilities, can each independently set the student upon a dead end course--a road lined with frustration, anxiety, a degree of disorientation, alienation and disaffection. And certainly none of these lead toward assimilation, integration, pluralism or strong academic performance.[21]

It has been documented that the majority of black students have difficulty adjusting to the predominantly white university. Because of lack of interaction with white students and faculty, black students withdraw from the majority campus culture and seek the fellowship of other black students and faculty. The white university interprets this as a form of separatism, when in essence it is a technique for survival. Using the comparison with foreign students again, it is very common to find international houses and foreign clubs on college campuses across the nation. It is recognized that students from foreign countries need to interact with their cultural peers, and they actively seek the solidarity such interactions entail. This is not seen as a form of segregation, but as a necessary

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 466.

[21] William Trent. *College Compensatory Programs for Disadvantaged Students.* Report 3. ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, September, 1970

step in reducing the cultural shock which accompanies being in a new and alien environment. The same general premise holds true for black students. The predominantly white campus represents an alien and hostile world for the typical black student. Therefore, it is neither strange or unusual that he would seek out others like himself who share a common cultural background and experiences. Because a student interacts and becomes actively involved with his own kind, should not be interpreted as a separatist tactic or a display of anti-white sentiments. The white student and administrator should ask himself - Who do I socialize with? Who do I eat meals with? Who do I attend meetings with? The answer, if it is a truthful one, will show that all people tend to socialize with those they feel comfortable with and least threatened by.

Institutions of higher education should not expect the black student to merge into campus mainstream by stripping himself of all vestiges of black tradition. The unique traditions and mores of the black experience must be respected as a rich and different culture, that is wholly apart from the generally recognized American experience. One of the most serious problems accompanying the arrival of black students on the white campus is the incongruent set of expectations that each holds for the other. A study, "Black Student/White University. Different Expectations,"[22] revealed that the black student's expectations concerning his appropriate role in the university community are very dissimilar to the expectations of administrators and faculty. This study found that administrators expected primarily that black students would be assimilated into the university community without needing any substantial alteration of academic structure or programs. Second, black students were expected to compete academically with white students, who generally had superior high school preparation and adequate study skills. Third, black students were expected to blend into the social-cultural life of the campus without regard to cultural differences, socio-economic disparities, or the growth of ethnic consciousness. Fourth, black students were expected to be overly grateful for having been given the opportunity to obtain integrated education.

Black students, on the other hand, had expectations that were quite dissimilar to those of the campus administrators. The students' primary expectation was that the university would be very flexible in responding to their individual needs. These students, who had very limited experience with a large bureaucratic institution, expected to by-pass rules, obtain unlimited financial aid, and have their disputes, both academic and social, promptly settled by the staff of the university. Second, many of these students expected college courses to be a continuation of high school work and they were often frustrated to find the qualitative and quantitative differences in courses and study assignments. Third, these students had expected to have a greater diversity of activities and life styles at college and they were confused and anxious when these expectations

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[22]Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 463-469.

were not realized. Fourth, black students expected to have a greater contact with the black community surrounding the college campus. Fifth, the students expected that they would contribute as much to the university as it contributed to them. Author Gibbs concluded that "conflicts between these two sets of expectations, which were widely but not universally shared by members of each group, exacerbated certain problems and issues of the black students."

Since black students and the staff of the university have not had interactions previously, the interactions and contacts that occurred on campus were governed by the expectations that each group associated with the other. Cohen,[23] in a study of race relations found that in the absence of actual contact, status expectations function as substitutes for knowledge. Trent[24] supports this finding when he asserts that even the most basic assumptions of the academic community are foreign to black students and the misconceptions that these students have are, in turn, surprising to the campus community.

One black student at Barnard College, in an attempt to verbalize the frustrations of attending a predominantly white university had this to say:

> It has been put forth as an excuse that the white administration and students know nothing about us and therefore cannot possibly understand what it is that we want, or why we are dissatisfied; in other words, their treatment of us results from ignorance and it is not their fault. I contend, however, that it is their fault. They have taken neither the time nor the initiative heretofore to learn anything about Black people because the subject did not interest them or did not seem important. Black people, on the other hand, know everything there is to know about white people.
>
> At this particular point in history, when suddenly everyone and his brother wants to know what the black person is thinking and why, we have been accused of shutting off the communication lines.' How are we to know that you want us to do, unless you talk to us?' is the cry that I and other black students have heard time and again from administration, faculty and students here. The answer is, I think, that we no longer want to have things done 'for' us, we want to do them ourselves. We are willing to have dialogue, but to protect ourselves, we must dictate the terms.[25]

Perhaps the desire to 'do things for ourselves' is a critical part of the ideology of the present day black students on campus. The "Uncle Tom" attitudes which at one time sufficed as a survival technique is not as prevalent among black students today. The black student on the predominantly white campus today is far more militant and impatient than his predecessors of a few years ago.

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[23] B.P. Cohen. *"Backgrounder on the Race Problem." College and University Journal.* 1969. p. 17-23.
[24] Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[25] Deborah L. Perry. *"Because I am Black." Saturday Review.* June 21, 1969. p. 73.

The black student on the predominantly white campus today is very much unlike his peers a few years ago. Powell[26] points out that "time was when the occasional Negro accepted at an Ivy League school felt so happy to squeak in that he worked frantically to become what he imagined was a proper gentlemen." Today the black student is angry, brittle, impatient, self-directed and somewhat militant. The fact that there are more of them on college campuses has enabled them to work more effectively for change and academic reform. James Cass, in his article "*Can the University Survive the Black Challenge?*", argues that black students are not interested in pulling down the academic house. In fact, he says:

> Like the majority of their white brothers they want to make it within the established structure of society. The university for them is the open door to success in the white world of affairs. But a substantial minority reject the 'white' education offered them and demand radical change in the curriculum. And a far larger number are profoundly dissatisfied with the education they are receiving and the environment in which it is provided.[27]

Black students are frustrated at "their insulation and isolation from the social explosions which are an integral part of the American racial dilemma." Dunbar found that there is a feeling among black students of having to conform to the standards and values that hold very little meaning for black people. They are also feeling that one loses something valuable in his own background as one attempts to fit in.

A MIHE (Minority Involvement in Higher Education) Conference Report attempts to explain why black students are concerned about the education they are receiving:

> in the contemporary American scene institutions must come to grips with their purpose as it relates to the clientele which it is called upon to serve. The existential reality that confronts Blacks, Puerto Ricans and other minorities impels them to be the most concerned about the end result of the time and effort they invest in higher education. Because they are often preparing themselves to go back to that very community which institutions have traditionally failed to serve, they must make their agendas reflect the concern to relate their educational experience to the end to which it is aiming. Thus, for the minority student, the question of the institution of higher education and its relationship to the community is at the very heart of all the crucial concerns he or she must face.[28]

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[26]Joann Powell. "*Higher Education for the Black Student.*" *Journal of College Student Personnel.* January, 1970.

[27]James Cass. "*Can the University Survive the Black Challenge? Saturday Review.* June 21, 1969. p. 68.

[28]*Minority Involvement in Higher Education Conference Report.* New Haven, Conn. November 12, 1973.

In trying to assess the legitimacy of black students' demands, non-black administrators must become cognizant of the fact that the struggle for identity and rising levels of black consciousness are among the most crucial concerns of black students. As Kenneth Clark[29] explains, "self-conscious race identification is not inconsistent with the struggle against racial segregation. Black consciousness...probably will increase the number of Negroes who will more effectively contribute to the attainment of racial justice." Powell also offers an explanation for the increasing demands on the part of black students for a more relevant educational experience:

> The demand for courses in black history, culture, literature, music, etc., is an attempt to correct the view of many that Black Americans have not made any contribution in these areas. These courses need to be part of the general curriculum to provide all students with a better knowledge of blacks in America. The almost complete lack of black instructors and administrators on white campuses deprives the black student of reference points and role models. The demand for the admission of more black students is an attempt to eliminate the informal quota system, which many feel still exists.[30]

If university officials could begin to understand the cultural heritage and experiences of black students, perhaps they could also begin to realize why it is essential that black students receive an education which they feel is relevant to their needs, goals, aspirations and career objectives. Moorman articulates this point when he says, "Black America's young, with it leadership reservoir depleted and its culture and heritage devasted, have educational needs one dimension beyond those of the average American student. College must create a black leadership group that readily and permanently identifies with, and is culturally proud of, other Black Americans in order to counteract the negative influences produced by centuries of Uncle Tom survival tactics that still plague the race. Hence the need for Afro-American studies, black student groups, and the black experience in general-at both black and white universities."

Many non-black administrators, because of an inability to understand the nature of the Black student, or what it is he wants, are becoming less and less convinced that continued black enrollments should be supported. One study, conducted by the Educational Policy Center[31] reveals causes for concern. The Educational Policy Center (EPC) conducted a nationwide study of black students in 40 predominantly white colleges and universities during the 1972-73 academic school year. This study points out that many predominantly white

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[29]Kenneth Clark. *A Charade of Power: Black Students at White Colleges." Antioch Review,* Vol. 29, No. 2; Summer, 1969.

[30]Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[31]William Boyd. *"Are White Colleges Cooling Black Recruitment?" Change Magazine.* Winter, 1973-74. p. 56-78.

institutions have stopped recruiting black students and many institutions have cut back their black student enrollments. The EPC study says that much of the reluctance of white institutions to increase their black student enrollments stems from the inability of college administrators to resolve some of the fundamental issues raised by black students.

> as a result, four years of shared experiences have not convinced either the white college or the black student that the other has the necessary qualifications for a long-term relationship. The college questions the availability of qualified black students, and they wonder whether black students want to restrict their participation to separatist enclaves. Black students wonder about the availability of places for the large numbers--twice as many blacks as at present--who should be enrolled to make college campuses similar in racial composition to the general population. Black students also wonder whether white colleges are willing to have them participate fully in all curricular and extra-curricular activities and on all levels of employment or whether they are expected to stay 'in their place.'[32]

This study also provides deeper insights into some of the issues surrounding desegregation. The statistics in this investigation indicate clearly that black students overwhelmingly favor the continuing desegregation of predominantly white institutions, even though their experiences at these institutions have not been altogether pleasant. Black students cited recruitment of more black students and faculty as the most important change to be made. In contrast, even those college administrators who hold to an equal opportunity philosophy, are still uncertain about the ability of black students to meet the academic criteria of their respective institutions. It is Boyd's contention that colleges and universities have not yet learned to interpret the abilities and needs of black students. Can it be concluded, he says, "that predominantly white colleges are racist and unresponsive institutions which black students should avoid?"

Black students at predominantly white institutions feel that racism and the unresponsiveness of the institution to meet their needs are major problems, yet in spite of discriminatory experiences these students are not willing to abandon the struggle to eliminate these problems. One out of every two students felt that he had been discriminated against, and 42 percent identified faculty members as the source of discrimination. Yet, this study showed that 64 percent of these students remained somewhat satisfied with the overall college experience.

One President of Fisk University, Dr. Charles Johnson,[33] said once that "what the black institutions have to contribute most especially in the diffusing process of integration in higher education are the values that lie in the experience of struggle and survival." Perhaps this comment is just as valid for

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[32]*Ibid.*, p. 56.

[33]Charles Johnson. *The Negro College Graduate.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938.

the school of experiences of the black student on the predominantly white campus. The struggle for survival and relevance in educational concerns must surely add a valued dimension to the plethora of experiences in this situation. Education gained in spite of such seemingly insurmountable obstacles must add to the intellectual rigor and stamina of a people. The experiences involved in fighting for a just cause and articulating one's concerns to the powers that be, must call into existence skills and techniques that will equip these students to always be capable of communicating with the majority culture. Marvin Bressler[34] posits that, "the badge of color worn by every Negro student who does matriculate (at a white institution) adds a critical dimension to the transitional identity problems of late adolescence and early adulthood; he must discern some intelligible meaning in the permanent fact of his race." White institutions, being a more intensified microcosm of the society at large, offers a training ground where black students must really test and retest their identity. Stories of black students who have moved in and out of their blackness abound on most predominantly white campuses. Identity problems are among the first ones cited by counselors and faculty members on these campuses. The white campus forces every black student to take a close look at himself when he asks who am I? and moveover who am I in a totally white setting? Bressler concludes that:

> it would be presumptous, and in any case futile, to counsel Negro Americans on the tactics of freedom and their proper relationships to the wider society. However, it seems clear that interracial colleges are uniquely able to provide the student with the relevant experiences to guide his choice. At best such institutions consist of persons with varied backgrounds, talents, and aspirations, and can serve as laboratories for instruction in fruitful coexistence. They can offer the opportunity to develop equal-status contacts which alone can destroy the stereotype symbolism of black or white villany.[35]

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education[36] has isolated and defined five distinct purposes of higher education: (1) the education of the individual student and the provision of a constructive environment for developmental growth (2) advancing human capability in society at large (3) educational justice for the post-secondary age group (4) pure learning-supporting intellectual and artistic creativity and (5) evaluation of society for self-renewal through individual throught and persuasion. If these purposes are accepted as legitimate for all segments of society, then it follows that institutions of higher education must reform and revamp if they are clearly committed to" the education of the

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[34]Marvin Bressler. *"White Colleges and Negro Higher Education." Journal of Negro Education.* Summer, 1967. p. 258.

[35]*Ibid.*, p. 263.

[36]Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *The Purposes and the Performance of Higher Education in the United States.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1973.

individual student and the provision of a *constructive* environment for *developmental* growth."

The issues surrounding the black student on the predominantly white campus can be summarized as follows: the area of admissions; supportive services; relevant counseling and instruction; supportive institutional environments, and the nature of the black student.

The logical extension of identifying the issues is to ask - what can be done? How can institutional response be implemented?

Institutional Response

In addressing the question of institutional response, the words of Eldon Johnson as put forth in his book *From Riot to Reason* set the stage:

> of all the forces shaking up the traditional university and shaping reform, the 'black problem' may prove to be the greatest...race as seen on campus presistently raises questions, including fundamental, philosophical ones, which universities can no longer avoid and cannot answer except by better understanding themselves and their need for reform...in the final analysis, the most important historical judgment will be on what universities did, not with their students, but with their potential leadership for solving the problems which youthful conscious had identified.[37]

Johnson believes that the greatest query of all which faces the university concerns itself with purpose, mission and justification. Johnson feels that if the "salvation" provided by higher education is denied to a huge segment of the American population then the real purpose of colleges and universities is called into question. W. Todd Furniss[38] of the American Council on Education mirrors these sentiments when he asks the question" is higher education for everybody?" According to Furniss, the answer to this question has implications for everyone who must share in the multitude of decisions to be made regarding the present and future of American higher education.

Glenn W. Ferguson, President of The University of Connecticut, articulates the institutional responsibility of responding to the issues surrounding black and other students as one of the crucial concerns facing his administration:

> One of the most important challenges is realizing our national commitment to create new opportunities for minorities and women. If we are to discharge our teaching, research and service functions as a public university, we must make available to the University the talent represented by women and minority students, staff and faculty. We must be creative in recruitment and recognizing our

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[37] Eldon Johnson. *From Riot to Reason.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

[38] W. Todd Furniss. *Higher Education for Everybody?* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Higher Education, 1971.

historic limitations, we must devise supportive programs which allow this essential talent to qualify for inclusion in the university family.

Of equal importance, in addition to effective recruitment, we must approve the academic and social environment for women and minorities. If the talent provided by minorities and women is to be fully utilized, we must recognize that the lifestyle of the traditional university campus may present an alien environment. A commitment to human beings, and their unique needs, contributes an obligation.[39]

In a study of *State Universities and Black Americans*, John Egerton [40] concluded that one of the most serious problems accompanying desegregation in predominantly white institutions is "unpreparedness." Egerton feels that institutions must be prepared to: (1) keep records by race in order to know how many black students they have, (2) move beyond token desegregation and (3) to acquire the skills and expertise necessary to educate students who differ from the middle class white standard. Egerton goes further to say that black agitation for institutional reform has arrived at just the right time on the higher education scene. Black demands for entree, relevance, recognition and dignity coincide with other institutional ills: the neglect of undergraduate teaching, pursuit of research grants, feudalism and fragmentation in academic departments, high student attrition, protection of incompetence by tenure and academic freedom, ivory tower detachment from social concerns, and the equating of excellence and prestige with elitism and exclusiveness. One administrator that Egerton interviewed in his study had this to say:

> We may be able to look back on all this tumult twenty years from now and be able to say that the reform of higher education was brought to a head by an angry and anguished black people who were being rejected by an impersonal and immutable educational system.[41]

Lewis B. Mayhew [42] identified the black challenge to higher education as one of the crucial issues of the seventies. In his analysis of higher education he proposed several ways institutions can meet the challenge:

1. Major universities must be willing to support Negro graduate students for a year to two years of pre-graduate work
2. The states must be prepared to offer massive scholarships of two to three thousand dollars for Negro youth

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[39] *University of Connecticut Chronicle* Vol. 4, No. 5. *"Ferguson Delineates a Blueprint for Action."* September 27, 1973.

[40] John Egerton. *State Universities and Black Americans.* Georgia: Southern Education Foundation, 1969, p. 93-96.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[42] Lewis B. Mayhew. *"Faith and Despair." Stress and Campus Response.* Edited by G. Kerry Smith. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968. p. 275-276.

3. Every predominantly white institution set as an immediate goal and institutional policy the recruitment of ten percent of its total student body from the Negro community without respect to formal admissions requirements
4. Every college administrator should extend immediate invitations to leaders of the Negro community without respect to whether leadership was professional or not
5. Research and power of higher education should be brought to bear, in a sustained way on the problems of contemporary society

Mayhew believes that there must be some sense of urgency about these matters. He feels that the responsibilities of higher education are clear, it is only the techniques for assuming these responsibilities that remain open to discussion:

> The evolving form and substance of American higher education seems remarkably clear but this evolution will justify faith only if these imperatives are considered the most serious of educational and social problems. And we in the academy must be sufficiently flexible to modify in major ways existing and evolving practices. [43]

Administrators must become convinced of the flexibility and adaptability of institutions of higher education in meeting the needs of individual students. William Boyd [44] suggested several ways for institutions to demonstrate responsiveness to the needs of black students. But first he cautions that colleges must rid themselves of stereotypes if they are to provide adequate educational environments for black students. "Not all black students are poor, ill-prepared, in need of remediation, likely to fail (and to demonstrate rather than to fade away quietly) and 'street' rather than 'middle-class' in values system and life style." Institutions must recognize that if the college experience is to mean more than a delayed entry in the job market, appropriate climates for intellectual and psychological growth must be provided:

> ...while intellectual growth should be reflected by a respectable grade-point average, it must also include some other elements: exchange and debate with faculty unfettered by racial stereotyping, full exposure to unfamiliar educational and career options, acquisition of marketable skills, and development of analytical and critical faculties. Psychological growth involves increasing readiness to apply the results of intellectual growth in the real world. It is based on confidence in one's own identity and a belief that one's efforts will be a decisive factor for success or failure. [45]

Boyd elaborates that a second set of needs involves major institutional reform which will clearly indicate the transition from an exclusive system to an open one. This requires that the institution reflects in its administration, faculty,

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[43] Ibid., p. 279

[44] William Boyd. *"Are White Colleges Cooling Black Recruitment?" Change Magazine.* Winter, 1973-74.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 57

staff and student body, substantial numbers of blacks in responsible positions. This also requires that the university curriculum reflect the history and accomplishments of black Americans. Boyd warns that" large numbers of staff, students and black oriented courses which fit white stereotypes rather than black needs are not the answer." Rationalizing this institutional response, Boyd states:

> the need for a sizable and diverse group of black faculty involves the need for varied role models as black students decide whether to try anything other than the most familiar fields. It also involves the black students' need for people they can trust. Similarly, a large and diverse group of black students provides opportunities for extensive interaction, with other blacks and with whites, without the strains of ghettoization which are typical in minority groups. The need for a revised curriculum arises from the deplorable omissions and distortions which persist in most curricula.[46]

Finally, Boyd suggests that institutions of higher education establish special social and political channels to ease the adjustment of black students to all non-academic aspects of college life: these include appropriate counseling and disciplinary efforts, as well as the establishment of special budgets to recruit black entertainers.

Boyd warns that white colleges cannot stop their recruitment of black students because it will signal the end of their active cooperation in the vital struggle for equal access. If the concept of" active cooperation" could become the byword of college and university officials, the search for new ideas and strategies for dealing with black students will be continually sustaining.

Peter Mann[47] in his report *Higher Education in Black and White* identified three major goals for higher education in the Southeast: (1) equal opportunity and equal access for all citizens (2) elimination of racial dualism and (3) elimination of white racism in educational institutions and in the society at large. The Mann report recommends that colleges and universities respond to the needs of black students by taking steps to examine course offerings in social studies and humanities to assure that students are informed about the realities of minority experiences. Secondly, colleges and universities can assist primary and secondary schools in the preparation of black student talent. Thirdly, colleges and universities must develop an open interracial mix of faculty, students and administrators on their individual campuses. The strengthening and preservation of Black colleges was also recommended.

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 57

[47] Peter Mann. *Higher Education in Black and White: A Seminar Report.* Southern Regional Council. Washington, D. C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1972.

The Mann recommendation that colleges and universities assist primary and secondary schools is particularly needed because one of the major complaints lodged against black students is their inadequate high school and primary preparation. Colleges and universities should direct more of their research energies in this area.

In the fall of 1969, Dr. Deborah Wolfe[48] after surveying 99 predominantly white institutions of higher learning to determine what curriculum adjustments were being made to meet the educational requirements of black students, made the following recommendations: special emphasis should be in the areas of counseling services, congenial recreational and housing facilities; black writers, artists, and musicians should be brought to the campus as part of the college cultural program; the entire campus should give consideration to major issues in black and white relationships, increased enrollments in black studies should be encouraged; additional black faculty and resource personnel should be hired and the infusion of the contributions of the black man should be made in such courses as history and sociology.

The need for black studies is articulated again and again by educators concerned with appropriate curricula experiences for black students. Colleges and university officials should survey their individual faculties to determine the appropriate methodologies and for implementing black studies courses on their respective campuses. The implementation of black studies emphases is a visible statement by an institution that it is actively concerned with the relevancy of the academic experiences of its students.

Thomas Sowell,[49] author of *Black Education: Myths and Tragedies* makes some very applicable suggestions for improving the quality of experiences that black students have in institutions of higher education. Sowell points out that most American colleges and universities have made tragic mistakes in their initial attempts to make higher education available to large numbers of black students. However, the future depends upon recognizing the mistakes made and rooting out the basic patterns, myths, actions and people who produced them. Then it must be determined what has been done so far in the education of black students and what have the results been. This information should be disseminated to those people who will be actively involved in designing and implementing new ideas and proposals. Sowell suggests that program designing have the involvement of people who represent a very wide and diverse distribution of ideas. Once an institution has secured both the information and the people for program designing, it should start deciding what it is going to do that will be more effective than what has been done already. Some of the institutional responses that Sowell offers include the following: college and

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[48] Deborah Wolfe. *"A Black Educator Integrates Black Studies in the Curriculum of Today's Schools." Multimedia Materials for Afro-American Studies: A curriculum orientation and annotated bibliography of resources.* Edited by.

[49] Thomas Sowell. *Black Education: Myths and Tragedies.* New York: David McKay Company, 1972.

universities in a given area could form a consortium for recruiting, and they could recruit through channels likely to produce black students such as The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students; recognize that one source of black talent are those black people past the normal college age who did not have the opportunity for higher education; black colleges could consolidate with other institutions to provide better services to its constituents; establish pre-college training centers; establish an advanced institute for black scholars which would emphasize academic excellence. Sowell's rationale for an advance institute for black scholars is thus:

> What has never been created is an institution featuring intellectual excellence for black people. No one is *against* intellectual excellence for black people, but it is not at the top of anyone's priority list--which is the only position from which excellence has been achieved anywhere. Indeed, the philosophy behind many educational programs dealing with American Negroes might be summarized as "millions for mediocrity, but not one cent for excellence." [50]

further he states that:

> Black people are to often seen as "problems" and as *recipients* of benefits, rather than as creators of something admirable. We do not have the capital to create a black industrial empire or financial dynasty, but we do have the intellectual capital to create an academic institution whose name will be synonymous with quality, as the Quakers and the Jews have done (without setting up all-Quaker or all Jewish institutions). Just as Quaker colleges have a distinctive, though non-sectarian, approach to learning, so a black institution could be distinctive for its intellectual focus, rather than its ethnic composition or ethnic preoccupation. It might, for example, emphasize basic methodological questions in each of its disciplines: the scope of economics and the logical bases and limitations of its analysis, the role of law and the nature of legal reasoning, the *rationale* (rather than the cookbook steps) of statistical inference. People with an interest in such questions would turn naturally toward such an institution, not because it is black--with all the patronizing possibilities that would create--but because it has something to contribute in the area.[51]

Sowell concludes that the education of black Americans is an integral part of the pattern of all American education and as a result cannot be dealt with in isolation. He further points out that it is difficult" to understand another man's situation and feelings, and it is easy to rely on selected spokesmen and selected doctrines." That, he feels, has been the tragedy of black education from the era of Booker T. Washington to the present time. If the education of black Americans is

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[50] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

to be successful," it cannot be a by-product of an attempt to atone, experiment, express *noblesse oblige*, seek emotional experiences, lash out at enemies, or bask in the spotlight of attention." [52]

In a statement that summarizes and capsulizes the ideas of what can be done in institutions of higher education to meet the educational requirements of black students, Sowell puts forth the following:

> After all that has happened, in history and in our own time, can black people still be seen with empathy and without sentimentality as human beings with aspirations and potential that deserve fulfillment? That is the question. Everything else is a matter of methods and paths, which can always be found, once there is a real goal and a real commitment to reach it. [53]

The concept of commitment conveys the message that institutions must decide that they must *act;* they must do something; and they must believe in the equality of opportunity for all Americans.

Many universities have adopted several measures to improve the black student's chances for academic success. Some of the suggestions offered for institutional response include: summer pre-admission programs; lighter course loads; credit for all work done; blending special instruction with regular course work; well organized tutoring programs using students who have gone through the program wherever possible; integrated student body and staff for all special programs; strong academic and personal counseling; financial aid adequate to meet the students needs and the involvement of older students.

Jewelle Gibbs[54] suggests that a university can respond to the black challenge in the following ways: (1) establishing admission policies which reflect the changing nature of the university and its student pool; (2) providing a full range of supportive services; (3) using more aggressive techniques with black students both in seeking them out for anticipatory guidance and in developing methods to counteract students' mistrust, apathy or hostility; (4) providing more opportunities for faculty and staff to interact with black students in informal situations; (5) encouraging structures which would enhance interracial contact among all students while giving black students the chance to develop a sense of shared identity and community and (6) including black students in university decision-making.

The Carnegie Commission[55] has on numerous occasions addressed the issue of institutional responsiveness to the challenges posed by integrating predominantly white institutions. One report, *A Chance To Learn: An Action*

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[54] Jewelle Gibbs. *"Black Student/White University: Different Expectations." Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 7; March, 1973. p. 467-469.

[55] Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *A Chance to Learn: An Action Agenda for Higher Education.* California, Carnegie Foundation, 1970. p. 3-13.

Agenda for Opportunity in Higher Education summarizes the recommendations of the commission:

-The Commission recommends that the first priority in the nation's commitment to equal opportunity be placed upon the increased effectiveness of our pre-elementary, elementary, and secondary school programs.

-The communities where effective desegregation of local school systems has not been achieved, institutions of higher education should offer their resources of research and consultation to local school administrators and other community leaders.

-That institutions of higher education, either alone or in conjunction with local school districts, establish educational opportunity centers to serve areas with major concentrations of low income populations.

-The Commission recommends the establishment of recruiting and counseling pools among neighboring colleges and universities to coordinate resources and staff efforts for admitting educationally disadvantaged candidates.

-That graduate and professional departments coordinate recruiting of disadvantaged candidates.

-That institutions of higher education devote a portion of their summer schedule and facilities to camps for educationally disadvantaged children.

-The Commission recommended the establishment of experimental programs for the early development of verbal skills, to be sponsored and administered by institutions of higher education with active participation from members of the community; and of programs for remedying verbal skills deficiencies at the secondary and higher levels of education.

In regards to access the commission recommends that:

-Each state plan to provide universal access to its total system, but not necessarily to each of its institutions, since they vary greatly in their nature and purposes.

-Community colleges or equivalent facilities be established within commuting range of potential students in all populous areas.

-Four year colleges generally be prepared to accept qualified transfer students and give them appropriate credit for the work they have already completed.

-All institutions accept responsibility to serve the disadvantaged minorities at each of the levels at which they provide training, and that universities accept a special responsibility to serve a substantially greater representation of currently disadvantaged minorities in their graduate programs.

-Each institution issue an annual report on its present and potential contributions to the equality of opportunity.

The university in the past has been able to maintain its traditional stance and limited ideas of who should be educated. Educators today are finding that the clients of education are new students with new and different needs. Presently, some of the new students include adults, housewives, mid-career people, and those who have had their schooling interrupted previously. Colleges and universities with some measure of foresight are beginning to examine concepts like external degrees, credit for life experience, universities without walls, and other non-traditional ways of getting education to the people. Education must address itself to the problems of who should be educated, and who decides who will be educated. The issues of universal education and how to get away from being a "credentials society" must be more fully explored. Educators must ask themselves "of what value are academic degrees? Who needs them and why?" The intellectual elitism which has been allowed to prevail in our institutions of higher education can no longer be justified. Colleges and universities with ivory tower detachments from the needs of society can no longer be allowed. If the university is to be a viable institution and if the university is to prepare for an increasingly diversified student body, then it must be prepared to redefine its goals and reaffirm its philosophy of education. Some goals for higher education to consider are those being articulated by the Greater Hartford Process.[56] The Greater Hartford Process Planners feel that any new system of higher education should be able to encourage and enable every person to develop to the fullest, his or her abilities, knowledge and appreciation of personal worth. More specifically:

-Every person should emerge from the elementary and secondary system with the ability to speak, read, write and compute; and, with the skills to earn a living, illiteracy should be a thing of the past.

-Beyond acquiring these basic skills, every person should be helped to achieve his fullest potential and develop his knowledge and skills throughout his lifetime; education should not be just for children.

-Every learner should be able to follow the particular program that suits his or her interests, abilities, needs and style of learning; people should be treated as individuals.

-No one should be denied a quality education because of lack of personal or community wealth, or because of race, sex, age, ethnic background, or language.

-Every person should be helped to understand, appreciate and respect persons belonging to other racial, ethnic, cultural and social groups through an understanding of one's own and other cultures.

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[56]Greater Hartford Process, Inc. *The Greater Hartford Process.* Maryland: American City Corporation, 1972. p. 103.

-Every person should be helped to develop the commitment and vision to build a better society.

With the proper leadership, higher education can rise up to meet the challenge of providing a relevant education for all of its students. For it is not only the black student that questions what is being taught, or not taught at our colleges and universities. We have only to remember what happened at Kent State, Columbia and San Francisco State College. When we use the term relevant in education, we are talking about how the learner perceives what he is learning. A curriculum is relevant when the learner feels that what he is being taught will have meaning in his present life and he expects that it will also have utility in his future life by equipping him with skills and attitudes necessary for future problem solving.

The very nature of higher education indicates that it can respond to the issues raised by the black presence. Education is a changing process, and the problem lies in identifying what needs to be changed and doing it. The Southern Regional Education Board[57] offers the following suggestions for change as it related to the black presence:

-Establish joint professorships and short-term faculty exchanges with nearby institutions.

-Increase fellowships and scholarships to Black graduate students and hire them once they have graduated.

-Broaden and diversify the measurements by which selection of faculty and administrators is made, so that capable and experienced men and women who lack formal credentials such as the Ph.D. can be eligible for consideration.

-Recruit Black professionals in business and industry, government, the performing arts, athletics, and foundations.

-Because demand exceeds supply, be willing to pay a premium for top Black educators.

-Coordinate the efforts of all departments to find Black faculty and administrators so that there is a single university effort unimpeded by duplication.

In 1970, the Carnegie Commission warned that even though efforts to meet the needs of minority students will be costly, difficult, and time consuming, these efforts will still have to be a part of the action agenda for higher education. The commission further asserts that "if a college were to structure the first-year course work for each student according to his own preparation, maturation, work schedule, and educational objectives, with the help of pre-college examinations and

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[57] *The College and Cultural Diversity, The Black Student on Campus, A Project Report.* Institute for Higher Education Opportunity, Southern Regional Education Board, 130 Sixth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia; October, 1971.

individual faculty advisors, then no group--as a group--would be identified as special or disadvantaged, and all could be better served educationally."[58]

Higher education can and must shape the future of the American tomorrow. It must provide the leadership and vision for a country that badly needs direction. Leaders of tomorrow are presently enrolled in institutions of higher education. Who they will lead and how they will lead will depend to a great extent on the quality and relevance of the experiences they have in various institutions. The issues and problems have been articulated clearly and forcefully. Higher education must now meet the challenge head on and champion the cause of equal access and equal opportunity.

Many issues have been raised in relation to the presence of black students in higher education. These concerns include issues surrounding access, admission, academic success, supportive services, black faculty and staff, special programs, and financial aid. Few solutions or answers to these problems have emerged. Yet educators are seeking models for institutional responsiveness. The black presence in higher education has provided the impetus for general institutional reform and redefinition of purpose. While there remains much to be done, the struggle for equal opportunity has begun and some notable progress has been made.

O. Meredith Wilson, past president of one of our nation's leading universities, has very aptly defined the mission for higher education. In his words:

> The gifted, the scientist, the generalist, the disadvantaged, all have their distinctive needs, including a gait, a pace, a rhythm appropriate to their own abilities and background. We must have time for them all,because they are all mankind, all capable of dignity but each still short of self-fulfillment. And, with that summary, our existing priority is uncovered. It is the cultivation and perfection of individual men.[59]

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[58]Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *A Chance to Learn: An Action Agenda for Higher Education.* California: Carnegie Foundation, 1970. p. 19.

[59]Fred Harcleroad, *Issues of the Seventies.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970.

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